

PASSIVE HEALING OF THE AFTERMATH OF INTRACTABLE CONFLICTS

Rafi Nets-Zehngut

Abstract

Present research views the reconciliation process as the central method for addressing the destructive psychological aftermath of conflicts. This reconciliation process has an *active* aspect, as it comprises deliberate steps aimed at improving the relations between the conflicting parties (e.g., truth commissions, apology, or reparations). This paper proposes an additional process for addressing this aftermath, the *passive* healing one. In this latter process, the psychological fallout of conflict is addressed through cooperation for utilitarian purposes, without an aim to improve the relations between the parties. Various aspects of this latter process are described, analyzed and exemplified, including types of cooperation (permanent vs. ad hoc, direct vs. indirect, and post-conflict vs. pre-resolution cooperation), how cooperation positively influences the parties and their relations, which main conditions facilitate the initiation of the passive healing process, and the relationship between the reconciliation process and the passive healing one.

Intractable conflicts (hereafter 'conflicts') are prevalent worldwide (Coleman, 2000; Kriesberg, 2000). These conflicts cause severe, wide-scale, negative damage, both material and psychological, to the parties involved (Coleman, 2000; Lira, 2001; Staub & Bar-Tal, 2003). A major aspect of the psychological damage of conflict is the parties' formation of a psychological repertoire of conflict. This repertoire is composed of three elements: A collective memory of the conflict, an ethos of the conflict, and an emotional orientation to the conflict – all of which contain negative and antagonistic content towards the rival (Bar-Siman-Tov, 2004; Bar-Tal, 2007).

While some conflicts reach the resolution phase whereby a peace agreement is signed by the parties, research suggests that a peace agreement does not ensure sustainable peace. That is because the psychological repertoire of the conflict must also be addressed and improved in the post-conflict phase so that its elements (i.e., memories, beliefs and emotions) will become less negative, and hopefully positive, toward the rival party. Such an improvement can ensure the proper implementation of a peace agreement, reconciliation, and stable peace between the parties (Bar-Siman-Tov, 2004; Lederach, 2000; Montville, 1993; Staub, 1998). Without such an improvement in the psychological

repertoire, its antagonistic elements may cause the parties to reactivate the conflict and may jolt the social climate in the national and the international arena (Bar-Tal & Bennink, 2004; Kriesberg, 2000).

The current dominant perspective in conflict research views the reconciliation process as the central appropriate method for dealing with the psychological aftermath of conflicts and improving the psychological repertoire of conflicts (Kriesberg, 2000; Lederach, 2000; Rosoux, 2001; Staub, 1998). This reconciliation process consists of specific actions coordinated by the involved parties with the purpose of advancing reconciliation (e.g., revising the history of the conflict, expressing an apology, and offering reparations; Montville, 1993; Nets-Zehngut, 2007). Such a process has an *active* aspect in it, since the parties to the conflict actively seek reconciliation through this process.

While the importance of reconciliation is undisputed, the purpose of this paper is to suggest another process for improving the psychological repertoires of parties to conflict and their relations – the *passive* healing process. In this process the psychological repertoire of each party improves and the relations between the parties are healed due to the cooperation which takes place between them. This process is termed ‘passive’ since in its framework healing is reached or progresses passively, without the parties to the conflict actively seeking healing.

Intractable Conflicts and the Reconciliation Process

Intractable conflicts are characterized, among others, as being long, extremely violent, and related to issues of major importance to the parties involved (Bar-Tal, 1998; Kriesberg, 2000). These conflicts also cause wide-scale, severe damage to the parties (Coleman, 2000; Lira, 2001; Staub, 1998; Staub & Bar-Tal, 2003).

In order to cope with this difficult reality, parties to conflict develop a psychological repertoire of the conflict that includes three elements (Bar-Tal, 2007; Nets-Zehngut & Bar-Tal, 2007): (1) A *collective memory* of the conflict, which provides society members with an account of the events of the conflict (Cairns & Roe, 2003; Nets-Zehngut, 2006). This account is usually biased, focusing on alleged acts of injustice by the rival party and portraying the rival in a very negative manner, focusing on the allegedly acts of injustice, harm, evil, and atrocities conducted by him (Bar-Tal, 2003); (2) an *ethos* of the conflict, which is a configuration of shared, central societal beliefs that provide a particular orientation in the society in the present and for the future (Bar-Tal, 2000) – for example, beliefs that validate the group's objectives, justify its sense of collective victim-hood, provide positive self-esteem, strengthen patriotism, and delegitimize its rival (Bar-Tal, 1998, 2000); and (3) a *collective emotional orientation* that is shared by society members and that strongly effects them, including such emotions as fear, hatred, and anger (Bar-Tal, 2001; Volkan, 1988).

Some conflicts reach the resolution phase, whereby a peace agreement is signed by the parties. Still, research suggests that a peace agreement does not ensure sustainable peace. Various conflicts that have seemingly been resolved have been reactivated, jolting the social and political climate in the national and the international arena. Thus, researchers have realized that the psychological aftermath of the conflict (i.e., the negative psychological repertoires of conflicting parties) must be addressed and improved in order to consolidate peace relations (Bar-Tal & Bennink, 2004; Kriesberg, 2000).

In order to deal with the psychological aftermath of these conflicts the reconciliation process is seen to form or restore genuinely peaceful relations between societies that have been involved in intractable conflict (Bar-Tal & Bennink, 2004, Lederach, 1997). The essence of this process is psychological, focusing on improving relations between the parties by making the psychological repertoire of each society members less negative toward the rival. More specifically, reconciliation is an outcome that consists of mutual recognition, acceptance, trust, and positive attitudes, and sensitivity to and consideration of the other party's needs and interests (Bar-Tal & Bennink, 2004). It is composed of specific actions coordinated by the involved parties that actively, directly and primarily aim to change society members' negative psychological repertoires towards the rivals. That is, reconciliation is actively sought by this process.

A few main components of the reconciliation process have been suggested in the literature: (1) The parties to the conflict should determine the truth about past events of the conflict (Jamal, 2001; Shriver, 1995; Staub, 1998); (2) the perpetrating party should take responsibility for its unjust practices (Jamal, 2001; Staub, 1998); (3) the perpetrating party should apologize to the victimized party for its wrongdoing (Lederach 1997; Shriver, 1995); (4) the perpetrating party should pay reparations to the victimized party (Jamal, 2001; Staub, 1998); and (5) the victimized party should grant forgiveness to the perpetrating party (Bar-Tal & Bennink, 2004; Jamal, 2001).

Passive Healing

Definition

A passive healing process is defined as a process in which parties to an intractable conflict passively heal their relations. This process, like the reconciliation process, improves relations between parties to the conflict by improving the psychological repertoire of society members towards their rivals. The 'passive' part of the definition denotes that healing – that is, the improvement of the psychological repertoire and the mutual relations – is advanced in the absence of deliberate activities aimed at promoting healing, but stems rather from instrumental activities that are taken for utilitarian

purposes which are not related to the conflict. Healing here is a by-product, not the object, of the process.

The essence of the passive healing is cooperation, which is motivated by the interests of the parties. For example, parties may engage in economic cooperation in the interest of earning profits, or visit one another as tourists for pleasure. Members of parties to the conflict who take part in such cooperation may thus come to know each other and slowly improve their mutual psychological repertoires.

Cooperation – Theoretical Background

General. The sources, effects, and conditions for the success of cooperation between parties to intractable conflict can be explained by two of the most influential theories in intergroup and conflict studies: Deutsch's (1949; 2000) theory of cooperation and competition (Johnson & Johnson, 1989), and Allport's (1954) contact hypothesis (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2005; Stroebe, Kruglanski, Bar-Tal, & Hewstone, 1998).

Sources. According to Deutsch, when the goals of two parties are "positively interdependent" (i.e., when goals are linked in such a way that the probability that one party will attain its goal is positively correlated with the probability that the other party will obtain its goal), then the parties are motivated to engage in "effective actions" (i.e., actions that improve the parties' chances of obtaining their goals.) Allport also views the common goals of the parties as essential for the initiation of cooperation. In such a situation each party views the other party and its effective actions in a more favorable manner. This leads the parties to cooperate in obtaining their goals.

Effects. Cooperation can improve the psychological repertoire of the conflict among the cooperating parties (Allport, 1954; Deutsch, 2000; Johnson & Johnson, 1989; Stroebe, Kruglanski, Bar-Tal, & Hewstone, 1998). It provides opportunities for different sectors of both parties to establish common goals and allows for encounters in which past opponents can form personal relations. It reduces the threat posed by the rival and thus removes one of the inhibiting factors to positive inter-group relations (Stephan & Stephan, 2000). It also promotes effective and open communication between the parties; perceived similarity in beliefs and attitudes; friendliness and helpfulness attitudes; coordination of efforts, division of labor and high productivity; and a sense of basic similarity and willingness to enhance the other's capabilities (Deutsch, 2000). All these processes promote more differentiated views of the other party's members and can indicate possible similarities of interests, values and goals (Hewstone, Islam, & Judd, 1993). In addition, it allows people to become acquainted with various neutral or positive aspects of their rivals that are unrelated to the conflict (e.g., culture, language, and food); humanizes, personalizes and legitimizes the other side; and encourages people to trust the other (Allport, 1954; Amir, 1969; Barnea & Abdeen, 2002; Bar-Siman-Tov, 2004; Bar-Tal & Bennink, 2004; Bar-Tal, & Teichman, 2005; Chadha, 1995; Kelman, 1999; Kriesberg, 2000).

Conditions. According to Allport, and with support from most subsequent studies, cooperation will provide the above mentioned positive effects if four main conditions are fulfilled (Allport, 1954; Brown, 1995; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2005; Stroebe, Kruglanski, Bar-Tal, & Hewstone, 1998): (1) The two parties share common goals and work together to obtain them – while working together to achieve the common goals the parties must work together and rely on each other; (2) There is institutional or social support for conducting the cooperation – this support establishes the norms of acceptance and guidelines for how members of the different parties should interact with each other; (3) There is ongoing interpersonal interaction between the parties this interaction allows for each party's members to get to know the members of the other party; and (4) The two parties enjoy equal status throughout their cooperation – this relates to the perceived equal status of the parties while cooperating, even if the equal status is not part of the initial cooperation but achieved along the cooperation. These conditions were found to be applicable in various settings, including schools, military, work place and religious settings; all this, in various locations and cultures around the world.

Subsequent research addressed the issue of generalization of the positive outcomes of the cooperation discussed above. That is, that the positive change of attitudes towards the specific cooperating individuals will be generalized to the parties from which they come from – and by this, gain an additional and wider positive impact. Some of the methods described in this regard were de-categorization of the other party based on awareness of multiple group membership (e.g., one might discover that a member of the rival party is also a professional colleague); sub-categorization of the other party (e.g., one may discern that the rival group is not a homogeneously hostile entity, but rather that some sub-groups are less hostile than others).

Three Kinds of Cooperation

In the context of the passive healing process there are three main kinds of cooperation: Permanent in contrast to ad hoc cooperation, direct in contrast to indirect cooperation, and post-conflict in contrast to pre-resolution cooperation. Each kind of cooperation has different characteristics (e.g., with respect to its causes, duration, and the scope and influence of the cooperation), and thus it is important to describe them in detail. These classifications and their characteristics will be described below, providing examples of interest's based cooperation in the context of intractable conflicts.

Permanent/ad hoc cooperation. The first classification relates to a bipolar continuum ranging from permanent to ad hoc cooperation. These two poles are defined according to the cause or duration of the cooperation. *Permanent cooperation* relates to cooperation that takes place for a relatively (compared to ad hoc cooperation) long time. In some conflicts, national or group leaders, as well as economic or other entrepreneurs, may decide that the past conflict should be set aside in favor of current and future strategic interests. In such cases cooperation may take place in various domains such as

the economy, diplomatic relations, or security, in such forms as joint institutions and organizations, open trade, cooperative economic ventures and the coordination of diplomatic and security policies and activities. This kind of cooperation will usually be longer in its duration and wider in its scope than ad hoc cooperation, and will have a more gradual and moderate impact on the parties. Examples of such cooperation include the conflict between Great Britain and France, where economic, security, cultural, and diplomatic cooperation has grown since the two countries reached a peace agreement in 1904 until today (Howorth, 2000; Morgan, 1986); the Japanese-South Korean conflict, where economic and diplomatic cooperation has taken place since the countries resumed diplomatic relations in 1965 (Er, 2002; Olsen, 2001), and the Polish-German conflict, where economic cooperation grew as millions of Poles came to work in Germany after WWII (Jedlicki, 1999).

Ad hoc cooperation relates to cooperation that takes place for a relatively (compared to permanent cooperation) short period of time. Natural disasters, which may sometimes strike both parties to a conflict, may force the two sides to cooperate in order to cope with the adversity. This kind of cooperation is usually shorter in duration, lasting until the sides have overcome the immediate challenge, and narrower in its scope, though it may have a stronger and more immediate impact on the parties since it takes the form of humanitarian assistance in a time of a crisis which may be more appreciated by the recipients. An example of this comes from the context of the Turkish-Greece conflict: The two earthquakes that hit Turkey and Greece in 1999 led to mutual cooperation between these countries in dealing with the damage that ensued (Evin, 2003; Gundogdu, 2001).

Direct/indirect cooperation. The second classification relates to a bipolar continuum ranging from direct to indirect cooperation, defined according to whether there is physical contact between the parties during cooperation. *Direct cooperation* relates to cooperation that involves physical contact between people from both parties of the conflict (e.g., tourists from one country visiting the other, consumers from one party shopping in the cities or countries of the other party, workers from one country finding employment in the other country, or cultural performances). Such cooperation enables people to meet face to face and thus become better acquainted with their rivals and establish personal relations, and as such, may cause a deeper change in the psychological repertoire of the conflict. Nevertheless, this kind of cooperation usually (though not exclusively, inasmuch as it relates to inter-state conflicts) requires that the channels between countries (e.g., trade or transportation) be more open than in indirect cooperation. Since such conditions do not always exist, especially in the initial post-conflict phase, it may sometimes be more difficult to conduct such cooperation. For examples of this kind of cooperation we can refer, in the case of tourism, to Japanese tourists to South-Korea at the beginning of the current century (Doobo, 2006) and Israeli tourists who visited Egypt in the 1980s following the 1979 peace treaty signed between the two countries (Ben-Ari & Amir, 1988); in the case of commercial contact, to Israeli-

Jews shopping at Palestinians markets in the years 1998-1999 following the 1994 Oslo agreements (Arieli, 2003, 2005); in the case of laborers in other countries to Polish workers in Germany in the post-WWII era (Jedlicki, 1999); and in the case of cultural performances to cross-border performances by Indian and Pakistani artists during the early 1990s (Chadha, 1995).

Indirect cooperation involves non-physical contact between the parties, manifested via various cultural means such as films, music, literature, and other art forms. This kind of cooperation does not allow for personal acquaintances and relations, and as such, causes a shallower change in the psychological repertoire of the conflict. Nevertheless, this kind of cooperation usually (though not exclusively, insofar as it relates to inter-state conflicts) requires less openness with respect to the channels between the countries (i.e., trade or transportation). That is, a person can indirectly become acquainted with various aspects of the other party while reading a book, listening to a song, watching a movie or surfing the internet. Such cooperation is easier to conduct than direct cooperation. An example is the 'Korean Wave' – the growing popularity since 1997 of South Korean, films, TV dramas and music in Japan (as well as in other countries in Asia; Doobo, 2005, 2006; Hae-Joang, 2005) exemplified by the popular TV series 'Winter Sonata' and the music of the pop star La Kowan BoA. Another example, from the opposite direction, is the growing popularity in South Korea of Japanese movies, music and animation (Yang Uk, 2000).

Post-conflict/pre-resolution cooperation. The third classification is defined according to the phase of the conflict during which the cooperation takes place, post-conflict or pre-resolution. *Post-conflict cooperation* relates to cooperation that takes place after a final peace agreement has been reached by the parties. In such a phase there are relatively more opportunities (compared to a pre-resolution phase) for cooperation to be initiated and to succeed, since, for example, security and technical obstacles are less prevalent (e.g., the borders between the countries may have been opened), and since the signing of a peace agreement in itself eases some of the tension and mistrust between the parties (Nadler & Saguy, 2004). As examples we can relate to the previously mentioned British-French or Polish-German cooperation.

Pre-resolution cooperation relates to cooperation that takes place before a final peace agreement is reached. In this phase there are relatively fewer chances for cooperation to be initiated by the parties and to succeed compared to cooperation that takes place in the post-conflict phase. This may be due to the existence of security or technical obstacles (e.g., laws may forbid contact with the rival party), or to high degrees of tension and mistrust between the parties. Such cooperation will usually not take place at the height of violent clashes between the parties, but rather only if certain minimal requirements are achieved, such as a partial cease-fire or interim peace agreement. This kind of cooperation is of special interest since the literature usually addresses reconciliation in the *post-conflict* phase (Bar-Siman-Tov, 2004). An example of such a healing process is the Israeli-Palestinian cooperation that took place from 1995 to 2005

(though to a lesser extent after the eruption of the Second Intifada in September 2000) in various domains such as trade, retail marketing, employment, tourism, the environment, health, media, and banking (Abu-Dayyeh, 2000; Arieli, 2003, 2005; Arzi, 2005; Barnea & Hussein, 2002; Guy, 2005; Halabi, 2003; Huleileh, 2005; Kleot, 2003; Zalah, 2005).

In sum, all these examples of cooperation were made possible by the “positive interdependence” of the goals of the involved parties. That is, both parties were interested in obtaining the same goals (e.g., economic profit, diplomacy, or security). This motivated the parties to engage in “effective actions” with the other party in order to achieve their goals.

It should be recognized that these pairs of classifications are not mutually exclusive, and combinations of these kinds of cooperation can also be carried out (e.g., permanent direct or indirect cooperation, or post-conflict permanent cooperation).

The Positive Effects of Cooperation

The above theoretical background section describes the positive effects of cooperation in general. More specifically, the above case studies provide examples of cooperation (in the context of passive healing) that leads to an improvement in the psychological repertoires of parties to intractable conflict and their relations.

For example, with regard to the first kind of classification, British-French cooperation in the economic, security, cultural and diplomatic spheres is an example of *permanent cooperation* that led to such a change. Thus, since the 1930s and onwards, despite historical fluctuations, most citizens of both countries have held generally positive attitudes toward the other (Bray, 1986; Riding, 2004). The economic and diplomatic cooperation that flourished between Japan and South Korea is also an example of permanent cooperation that led to such a change in the psychological repertoires of either society (Er, 2002; Olsen, 2001). Olsen (2001) observes that

despite the historic antipathies that inform both nations, the conservative elite in Japan and South-Korea are quite congenial and work surprisingly well together. On the surface this might appear due to their similar cultural and linguistic heritages... Beneath the surface, however, there are more tangible bonds that mesh Japan – South-Korea political and economic interests... A growing body of common interests gradually has nudged Tokyo and Seoul into closer working relations (p. 2).

Such a change also occurred with respect to the Polish-German conflict, due, in its early phases, to masses of Polish workers working in West Germany in the post-WWII era. Indeed, Jedlicki (1999) writes that “the personal experience of millions of Poles visiting the Federal Republic... was undoubtedly the crucial factor” in improving Poles’ negative perception of Germany (p. 226).

An example of the positive effects of *ad hoc cooperation* comes from the conflict between Turkey and Greece, where a cooperative response to earthquake damage facilitated the mending of diplomatic relations between the two countries (Evin, 2003; Gundogdu, 2001). As Greek Foreign Minister George Papandreou commented regarding the mutual aid both countries provided, "Through their moving expressions of solidarity, the citizens of Greece and Turkey effectively coined a new political term: 'seismic diplomacy'.... They taught us that mutual interests can and must out-weigh tired animosities" (Gundogdu, 2001, p. 2).

With regard to the second kind of classification, *direct cooperation* has led to the improvement of the psychological repertoires of conflicting groups in various cases. In tourism, attitudes of Israelis improved towards the Egyptians when they were increasingly able to visit Egypt (Ben-Ari & Amir, 1988). With regard to shopping, Israeli-Jews reported that they enjoyed visiting Palestinians' markets due to the unique oriental shopping experience, the cheap prices, the conversations with the Palestinian sellers which were more personal than the formal conversations with Israeli sellers and the pleasant market atmosphere (Arieli, 2003, 2005). With regard to work in the other party's country: as mentioned earlier, it improved the attitudes of the Polish workers in Germany towards the Germans (Jedlicki, 1999); and with regard to cultural exchange, performances by Indian and Pakistani artists contributed to improving the two nations' negative images of each other (Chadha, 1995).

An example of how *indirect cooperation* has led to such a positive change is the popularity of South Korean films, TV dramas, and music in Japan and other Asian countries, where South Korean actors and singers have become cultural icons and local "national" stars. These figures provide local fans with the opportunity to view South Koreans in a new, broader, and more positive manner, and introduce them to South Korean culture, food, and language (Doobo, 2006; Onishi, 2004), such that it influences the local trends of food, fashion, and make-up, and "given their infatuation with Korean culture, the regional fans are eager to learn the Korean language and travel to Korea" (Doobo, 2006, p. 29). In Japan this cultural wave was the main factor that increased Japanese tourism to South Korea by 40% in 2004, and increased the number of Japanese learning Korean. Thus, it was commented that

The growing popularity of Korean pop culture has more implications than simply earning foreign currency, especially considering that the (South-Korean) country has had some diplomatic friction with its neighbors in the past decades... In this respect Korean pop stars have contributed to improving Korea's foreign relations... BoA (the South-Korea pop star), who made the cover of the French *Le Monde* in July 2002 as an icon of cultural exchange between Korea and Japan, was invited to the two countries summit conference in June 2003 in Tokyo; Japan was responsible for a brutal occupation of Korea between 1910-1945 (Doobo, 2006, p. 30).

By the same token, the growing popularity in South Korea of Japanese movies, music and animation has led to an improvement in South Koreans' attitudes toward the Japanese (Soo San, 2002; Yang Uk, 2000).

Turning to the third classification, examples of *post-conflict cooperation* include the abovementioned positive influences of British-French, Japanese-South Korean, and Polish-German cooperation. Examples of *pre-resolution cooperation* include Israeli-Palestinian cooperation, for example, in trade, health, and employment. Trade cooperation between Israelis and Palestinians has promoted trust (Alyazji, 2005) and many quality friendships (Jabar, 2005) among the parties involved. With regard to cooperation in the sphere of health, a survey of the impact of 148 cooperative health projects revealed that participants on both sides learned about the other, replaced stereotypes and myths with direct and realistic impressions, and were impressed by their colleagues' expertise, professionalism, good will, and enthusiasm. Participants were also surprised at the ease with which personal and professional relationships developed between them (Barnea & Abdeen, 2002).

An example of cooperation in the sphere of employment is the Israeli-Palestinian Erez industrial zone, the site of about 200 Israeli or Palestinian owned factories or services suppliers employing a few thousand Palestinian workers (Bar, 2005). Research has found that the Israeli employers of the Erez zone reported a positive working atmosphere between them and their Palestinian workers and that they enjoyed good (some even described them as uniquely positive) working relations and even friendships with their employees, with many instances of reciprocal aid (Arieli, 2003; Arzi, 2005). In addition, half of the businesses in the Erez zone (about 100) were owned by Palestinians. Relating to relations between the business owners from both sides (Israelis and Palestinians), Israeli owners reported that these were as good as their relations with Palestinian workers as described above (Arieli, 2003). Such positive descriptions of mutual relations were also provided by Palestinian business owners, who reported 'special friendships' with Israeli business owners and even described some of their Israeli friends as 'their brothers' (Arieli, 2003; Zalah, 2005).

In sum, the positive effects of cooperation in most of the above examples is the outcome of the fulfillment of Allport's four conditions for successful cooperation (i.e., common goals, institutional or social support, ongoing interpersonal interaction, and equal status). Even in the Israeli-Palestinian example, where the 'equal status' condition was not fulfilled, cooperation still had a positive impact (albeit to a lesser extent among the Palestinians).

Additional Aspects of the Passive Healing Process

Some additional aspects of the passive healing process are worth highlighting.

Partial healing. The passive healing process does not necessarily lead to full healing of the relations between the parties. Healing that is partial in terms of the scope of

people influenced by the cooperation or the extent that the psychological repertoire is improved is also possible, and of importance.

Cooperation as both a facilitator and manifestation of healing. Until now cooperation has been discussed as a *facilitator* of healing by improving the psychological repertoire of the conflict among the parties. However, cooperation is usually also some kind of *manifestation* of an improvement, if even a partial one, in the psychological repertoires of parties in conflict. Generally, the more the parties to a conflict cooperate, the more it can be assumed that this cooperation is due to some prior improvement in their mutual psychological repertoires (Deutsch, 2000; Neins & Cairns, 2005). For example, when tourists visit a former rival country, this evidences that some part of the psychological repertoire towards this former rival has become less negative – otherwise these tourists would not have chosen to spend their vacation there. This observation, here regarding cultural cooperation, was vividly portrayed by the South-Korean Professor Soo San Han from Sejong University, after relating in length to the intense absorption of the Japanese culture in South-Korea, when he wrote "Young (South-Korean) people are setting the trend for Japanese culture to spread from the places they frequent and the way they dress. Is it not possible to see this trend as a kind of friendship index between South Korea and Japan?" (Soo San, 2002, p. 2).

The expanding effect. The positive influence of cooperation can expand beyond the particular party members who engage in the cooperation, percolating to other members and segments of the parties, who do not cooperate with the other party, and improve their psychological repertoires. This can be done through two channels. First, non-cooperating members may witness the fruitful cooperation taking place and observe that not all members of the other party are as negative as previously determined by their psychological repertoire. Such observation has a symbolic positive effect (Kelman, 1999; Neins & Cairns, 2005). In this way, the cooperating members of each party serve as goodwill emissaries, transferring positive information regarding the other party to the non-cooperating members of their own party. Thus, for example, many South Koreans, who were raised to believe that the Japanese were racist and held negative attitudes towards them, were positively surprised by the huge success in Japan of pop star La Kowan BoA. As Ry Chu-ley, a South Korean studying in Japan, commented: "I was amazed to see how well she [La Kowan BoA] succeeded here [in Japan]. I am very proud of her every time she appears on the TV and I feel much more connected to here [to Japan]." (Reuters, 2005).

Second, on many occasions the cooperation brings members of the other party, or their cultural products (e.g., music, films, poetry, fashion, or food), closer to one's own party in practice. This makes it technically possible, or easier, to get to know them (e.g., the performances of Indian and Pakistani artists across the border of each country during the early 1990s; Chadha, 1995).

Classification of reconciliation and passive healing activities. The classification of cooperation activities as such that belong to the reconciliation process or to the passive

healing process is not always straightforward and dichotomous. Instead, these activities are situated on a bipolar continuum whereas the two processes form the two poles. Some activities are situated at the more reconciliation pole of the continuum, such as the apology and reparations offered by Germans to Poles in 2004 for their wrongdoing in WWII ("Claims for Returning," 2004). Other activities are situated at the passive healing pole, such as tourism by Israelis in Egypt (Ben-Ari & Amir, 1988). However, some activities are situated between these two poles, expressing a combination of both processes. These kinds of activities have a two-fold motivation, both reconciliation and promoting other interests such as economic or security concerns. The establishment in 1951 of the European Coal and Steel Community is such an example in the case of relations between France and Germany. This body was established with the aim of ending Franco-German hostility, while also taking into consideration the economic interests of the two parties (Willis, 1968).

Sequence of reconciliation and active healing processes. When a passive healing process is followed by a reconciliation process, by taking part in the passive process the parties prepare the ground for reconciliation by improving, at least partly, the psychological repertoire of the conflict. This situation is of special significance when conditions for initiating a reconciliation process are not ripe (e.g., the parties to the conflict disagree about the events of the conflict and who is at fault, or the perpetrating party is unwilling to apologize or pay reparations). In such circumstances it is easier for the parties to cooperate in a passive healing process which bypasses these obstacles (e.g., the parties can cooperate economically without confronting issues like guilt and apology).

Two conflicts exemplify such a sequence. The first is the conflict between Japan and South Korea. Since these countries resumed their diplomatic ties in 1965, they have engaged in growing economic, diplomatic, and security cooperation, mainly against the threat of North Korea (Japan Ministry of Foreign Affairs [JMOFA], 2004; Kang & Kadesa, 2002; Olsen, 2001). While this happened the parties explicitly set aside the issue of the aftermath of the conflict between them. The reconciliation process between these parties began when Korean President Kim Dae Jung visited Tokyo in 1998, and Japanese Prime Minister Obuchi Keizo extended an unprecedented written apology for the wrongdoing committed by the Japanese during the conflict. The submission of this apology was possible due to the trust the Japanese had obtained during the passive healing process the two countries shared since 1965, which affirmed that South Korea would not take advantage of this apology and use it against Japan. This was vividly reflected in the words of a high-ranking Japanese official who observed that "South Korea proposed that if Japan agreed once again to express her regret of the past in writing, they would not take up the question again... Japan was a little hesitant in the beginning, but decided to accept the idea, trusting (South Korean) President Kim Dae Jung. President Kim Dae Jung did not betray our expectations" (Er, 2002, p. 45). This apology paved the way for subsequent reconciliation activities such as an action plan for intensive governmental programs for cultural and educational exchange (JMOFA, 2004).

A second example of a passive healing process followed by a reconciliation one comes from Polish-German relations. As described above, the masses of Polish workers working in West Germany in the post-WWII era (i.e., passive healing motivated by the economic interests of the parties) was the crucial factor in the improvement of Poles' negative attitudes toward Germans (Jedlicki, 1999). This enabled, in turn, the establishment of a reconciliation process which included the 1965 Polish Bishop's letter stating that Polish Bishops "forgive and ask for forgiveness" from their German colleagues; and the 1972 Polish-German commission of historians which reached a common narrative of the conflict and accordingly revised the history textbooks of both countries (Georg Eckert Institute, 2004). Since then these two processes have operated simultaneously.

On the other hand, when a reconciliation process is followed by a passive healing one, the preceding process prepares the ground for the following passive one by improving, at least partly, the psychological repertoire of the conflict. The relationship between Germany and Israeli Jews following the Holocaust exemplifies such a sequence. Since the beginning of the 1950s, substantial reconciliation activities have taken place between West Germany, Israel and some Jewish Holocaust survivors (Arian, 1990; Nadler, 2001; Segev, 1991; Yelinek, 1988). These have included, on the part of Germans, taking responsibility for past injustices, apologizing, and paying reparations to individual survivors and to the state of Israel. These activities have improved the psychological repertoire of Israeli Jews toward Germans (Nadler, 2001; Yelinek, 1988). With time, passive healing activities between the two countries followed, including substantial economic and tourism relations (Blumkrantz, 2000; German Embassy in Tel Aviv [GETA], 2005). Until now these two processes have continued to operate simultaneously.

In both the reconciliation-passive healing or passive healing-reconciliation sequences, it is reasonable to assume that at some time in the future the passive healing process may partly or entirely take over the reconciliation one. This may be, if we relate to the case of Germany and Israeli-Jewish Holocaust survivors, due to the fact that the payment of individual reparations will end once all the survivors will pass away, or if younger Germans no longer believe that they are responsible for the evils of the older generation and even suspect that Germany's Nazi past is being used by Jews for their own advantage, as the majority of Germans already argue (Reuters, 2003). In these scenarios, passive healing will gradually become the major or exclusive process in operation between the parties.

Conditions that facilitate a passive healing process. The following are the main conditions that facilitate the initiation of a passive healing process.

(a) Goals of the parties to the conflict. The passive healing process is fueled mainly by the goals of the parties involved (Allport, 1954; Deutsch, 2000; Kelman, 1999). It requires the existence of substantial goals by the parties which may be fulfilled when parties cooperate with their past rivals – in Deutsch's term "positively interdependent goals." In many cases, these goals are important enough to the parties that

they will agree to cooperate despite the fact that a reconciliation process has not been initiated. In a global world, the need to cooperate in order to achieve ones goals can be more meaningful than in the past. These goals are diverse and may include, among others, the protection from third-party threat, which may be fulfilled by security and diplomatic cooperation (e.g., cooperation between Japan and South Korea since the end of the Cold War against the threat of North Korea; Kang & Kadesa, 2002; or cooperation between Britain and France at the beginning of the 20th century to counter the emerging power of Germany; Richardson, 2004); and economic goals that may be fulfilled through economic cooperation (e.g., mutual trade between Japan and Indonesia following WWII, which supplied Japan with much-needed raw materials for her industry and Indonesia with the income to modernize its industrial infrastructure; Nishihara, 1976). Usually, with the improvement of relations between the parties, other, less essential goals can also motivate parties to cooperate, such as leisure, tourism, and culture.

(b) Phase of the conflict. A passive healing process is more likely to be initiated in the post-conflict as opposed to pre-resolution phase due to the reduction of structural, security or technical obstacles, as well as the at least partial reduction of psychological obstacles

(c) Satisfaction of the parties with how the conflict has been resolved. In the post-conflict phase, a conflict that has been resolved according to the principles of justice, rather than either party's relative power, can leave both parties more satisfied with the agreement reached – particularly the weaker party (Jamal, 2001; Kelman, 1999). This may lead to a stronger positive influence on the psychological repertoire of the conflict of the parties, and thus enable parties to more enthusiastically engage in a passive healing process. An example of the reverse scenario is the peace agreement signed in Guatemala between Indians and whites, which was unjust toward the weaker party to the conflict, the Indians. Thus, it left Indians dissatisfied with the agreement and wary of reconciling with whites (Vickers, 1999).

(d) Precedence of a reconciliation process. A passive healing process that is not preceded by a reconciliation process requires participants to challenge their negative psychological repertoire for the first time by cooperating with 'the enemy.' As seen in the examples of Japanese-South Korean and Polish-German cooperation, it is possible for this to be done and also succeed. Nevertheless, it is easier to initiate a passive healing process when it has been preceded by a reconciliation process that has improved, at least partly, the mutual negative psychological repertoires of the parties. Relations between Germans and Jews following the Holocaust provide such an example.

(e) Type of regime. When the party that takes part in a passive healing process is an authoritarian state, there are fewer chances for the fruits of cooperation to trickle down from the elite level to broader segments of the society (Press Barnathan, 2006). This not only inhibits improvement of the psychological repertoire among the broader segments of the society, but may also give rise to active resentment of the cooperation being conducted by the state and its elites. Under democratic regimes the opposite is the case,

and broader segments of the society may share in the fruits of the cooperation. The former situation is exemplified by the cooperation of the elite in Philippines and Indonesia with Japan following WWII, which, for the reasons described above, evoked widespread resentment among Philippines and Indonesians in its initial phase (Press Barnathan, 2006).

Conclusion

Parties to intractable conflicts develop a psychological repertoire of the conflict which is composed of negative memories, beliefs and emotions against their rivals. Such a psychological repertoire constitutes a major obstacle in resolving the conflict and reconciling. Thus, transforming the psychological repertoire into a more positive one is a major aim for parties to conflicts. While the dominant research perspective views reconciliation as the central appropriate method for dealing with the psychological aftermath of conflicts, this paper proposes that the passive healing process is also an important process in promoting the improvement of the psychological repertoire.

The passive healing process does not aim to establish and sustain peaceful relations between the parties, but rather to fulfill other particular goals of the parties (such as security or economic goals). The improvement of the psychological repertoire of the parties and of their relationship in the course of the passive healing process is merely a by-product of this process, not its object.

The importance of the passive healing process stems, in part, from the fact that in some conflicts it may be difficult for parties to engage in a reconciliation process. This may be due to various causes, such as disagreement over the memory of the conflict, an exceedingly negative psychological repertoire, or the incumbent difficulties of the pre-resolution context. In such circumstances it may be easier for parties to begin improving their mutual psychological repertoires by establishing a passive healing process, and only later to establish a reconciliation process. The Japanese-South Korean conflict is an example of such a situation: In 2004, the leaders of these two nations prepared a list of current and future areas of cooperation between the countries. Although they explicitly acknowledged that disagreements regarding the history of the conflict remained, they proposed to leave them aside in favor of future-oriented projects (Japan-South Korea, 2004). Alternatively, passive healing may also be of special importance when the reconciliation process declines in scope over time, leaving the passive healing process the main process in operation.

Future research on the passive healing process may contribute to more effective treatment of the psychological aftermath of intractable conflicts. Such research can relate, for example, to other conflicts than those discussed above, in order to broaden the empirical support for this process. This can be done by using various methodologies such as content analysis of media publications, public opinion surveys, field studies or

laboratory experiments. Some of the themes that can be addressed in such researches can be more conditions that facilitate the passive reconciliation process, other types of cooperation, the relations between the active and the passive processes, the impact of indirect cooperation (e.g., via the internet) and cultural impacts. This, in turn, can contribute to the theoretical construction of this process.

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